

Message Text

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44

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1924

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: CSCE, GW

SUBJECT: FRG PRESS COMMENT ON HELSINKI SUMMIT

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AS THE STAGE III SUMMIT APPROACHED, PRESS COVERAGE IN THE FRG ON CSCE BECAME INCREASINGLY HEAVY, FOCUSING INITIALLY ON THE JULY 25 BUNDESTAG DEBATE. PRESS COVERAGE CONTINUED HEAVY THIS PAST WEEK AS STAGE III BECAME A REALITY IN HELSINKI. EDITORIAL COMMENTS ON THE SUMMIT RANGED FROM HOSTILITY ON THE RIGHT TO MODERATE SATISFACTION WITH THE RESULTS ACHIEVED BY THE PAPERS IN THE CENTER AND LEFT. REPRESENTATIVE EXCERPTS ARE SET FORTH BELOW. END SUMMARY

2. DIE WELT ON AUGUST 2 (BONN, RIGHT-CENTER): "... TO BREZHNEV, HELSINKI WAS A MAGIC MOUNTAIN OF WESTERN ADJUSTMENT. HE MIGHT ASK HIMSELF HOW THE FREE WORLD COULD BE PUT OFF WITH A FEW VAGUE FORMULAS AND BOW TO THE ARROGANCE OF HIS EMPIRE.

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"TO JUSTIFY THEIR PARTICPATION IN HELSINKI, THE BIGGEST HOAX IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD, THE FRG DELEGATION SAID OUR ALLIES, PARTICULARLY THE U.S., WANTED THE WHOLE THING, AND REFUSAL TO ATTEND MIGHT HAVE EXPOSED US TO ISOLATION...WHAT MOTIVATION FOR SUCH A DOWNWARD SLIDE* ..."

3. AN EDITORIAL IN WELT AM SONNTAG ON AUGUST 3 SAID THE HELSINKI SUMMIT MAY BE COMPARED TO THE VIENNA CONGRESS OF 1814 AS FAR AS SHOW EFFECT IS CONCERNED. "IN REGARD TO POLITICAL SUBSTANCE, HOWEVER, THE TWO MAMMOTH MEETINGS CANNOT BE COMPARED. THE VIENNA CONGRESS REALLY PRODUCED HEAVY LINES ON THE EUROPEAN MAP AND A NEW ORDER, WHILE HELSINKI PRODUCED MERELY DECLARATIONS OF INTENT AND BIG SPEECHES IN WHICH (THE GOVERNMENT CHIEFS) HAD TO ADMIT ONLY TOO OFTEN THAT THERE WAS A LACK OF SUBSTANCE...

"THE SHOW OF HELSINKI IS OVER. IF THE EAST BLOC REALLY WANTS CONCRETE DETENTE IT WILL HAVE TO SHOW IT AT THE CONFERENCE ON FORCE REDUCTIONS IN VIENNA, WHICH HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR TWO YEARS WITHOUT PRODUCING ANY RESULTS."

3. STERN MAGAZINE ON JULY 31 (BY SEBASTIAN HAFFNER):
"IS THE NEXT BERLIN CRISIS BEING PROGRAMMED IN HELSINKI? ONE COULD THINK SO IN VIEW OF SOVIET REFUSAL TO APPLY RENUNCIATION OF FORCE ALSO TO BERLIN... THIS REFUSAL SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT THE SOVIETS WISH TO RETAIN THE POSSIBILITY OF USING FCE OR THREATENING USE OF FORCE IN REGARD TO BERLIH. THAT DEPRIVES THE HELSIHKI CONFERENCE OF MUCH OF ITS VALUE. BECAUSE IF THE SOVIETS WANT INSECURITY TO CONTINUE IN OHE AREA IN EUROPE, INSECURITY WILL CONTINUE IN ALL EUROPE. UNFORTUNATELY THIS IS NOT THEORETICAL GRUMBLING. THE SOVIETS AND THE GDR HAVE MADE CLEAR BY ALL KINDS OF NEEDLING IN RECENT MONTHS THAT THEY SEEK TROUBLE IN BERLIN ONCE AGAIN. THE REASON WHY IS NOT CLEAR. PERHAPS THEY BELIEVE THE EUPHORIA OF HELSINKI WOULD PROMPT THE WEST TO LOWER ITS GUARD IN BERLIN. THAT UNCLASSIFIED

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WOULD BE A DISASTROUS FALLACY..."

5. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU AUGUST 2 (LEFT-CENTER):
"...PRESIDENT FORD HAS NAMED BERLIN AS A TOUCHSTONE. BUT EVEN THIS IMPORTANT TOUCHSTONE CANHOT BE DECISIVE... NEITHER THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT NOR HELSINKI HAS ENDED THE CONFLICT OVER THE STATUS OF BERLIN. THE BEST WAY TO MAKE CSCE A BEGINNING RATHER THAN AN END

IS IMPROVEMENT IN THE RELATIONS AMONG EUROPEAN STATES
(INCLUDING THE FRG AND THE GDR)..."

6. DER SPIEGEL ON AUGUST 4 (HAMBURG NEWS WEEKLY;
INDEP): "...ALLIED WITH THE U.S., ON FRIENDLY TERMS
WITH RUSSIA, UNITED WITH WEST EUROPE AND ENGAGED TO
EAST EUROPE, WEST GERMAN DIPLOMACY WON NEW FREEDOM OF

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MOVEMENT (IN HELSINKI), BUT FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WAS
ALSO DISPLAYED BY THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, AT
LEAST PSYCHOLOGICALLY. AFTER TWO YEARS OF NEGOTIATING
IN GENEVA, THE COMMUNIST CHIEFS OF GOVERNMENT WERE
GRATEFUL FOR BEING ACCEPTED BY THEIR OPPOSITE NUMBERS
AS COLLEAGUES. ONE DEALT WITH EACH OTHER WITHOUT
PROPAGANDA SLOGANS, MINORITY COMPLEXES OR ARROGANCE....

"....HELSINKI WAS NOT ANOTHER CONGRESS OF VIENNA, WHICH ESTABLISHED A EUROPEAN ORDER LASTING FOR A HALF CENTURY....HELSINKI RATHER IS COMPARABLE TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN THE HAGUE SPONSORED BY TSAR NICHOLAS IN 1899. HE DESIRED DISARMAMENT IN THE WEST IN ORDER TO CONCENTRATE ON HIS EAST ASIAN ADVENTURES. LIKE THE CSCE, THE HAGUE CONFERENCE MERELY PRODUCED A DECLARATION OF INTENT."

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7. SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG ON AUGUST 2 (MUNICH, INDEP):

"...THE WESTERN POWERS HAVE LITTLE REASON TO FEAR DETENTE. IN GENEVA, THE SOVIET UNION FREQUENTLY FOUND ITSELF ISOLATED: THIS SHOWS THAT IT CAN BE SUBDUED PROVIDED THE EC AND NATO ARE UNITED AND THE AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS PULL TOGETHER...."

8. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG ON AUGUST 1 WROTE:

"IS A SHOW WITH SO LITTLE POLITICAL SUBSTANCE A GOOD STARTING POINT FOR A EUROPEAN WAY TOWARD SECURITY AND COOPERATION? WHAT DOES THE GENEVA PAPER ADD TO WHAT HAD EXISTED, OR NOT EXISTED, BEFORE IN THE WAY OF PRE-CONDITIONS FOR SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING? PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE STILL SURPRISED THAT MOSCOW ATTACHED SUCH GREAT SIGNIFICANCE TO THIS CONFERENCE. THERE ARE SEVERAL EXPLANATIONS. AT ANY RATE, THE RUSSIAN WISH FOR THE CONCLUSION OF SOMETHING SIMILAR TO A PEACE TREATY CAN BE BACKTRACKED ALL THE WAY TO THE EARLY POSTWAR PERIOD. IN THE UNITED STATES ONE IS HOPING, AFTER COMPLIANCE WITH THE RUSSIAN HEART'S DESIRE, FOR CONCESSIONS OF MOSCOW IN THE EFFORTS FOR THE CURTAILMENT OF THE ATOMIC ARMS RACE. BREZHNEV'S SPEECH MAY AROUSE HOPES IN THIS RESPECT. BUT A TANGIBLE FRUIT WOULD HAVE TO RIPEN HERE FIRST."

HILLENBRAND

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